DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 320 786 SO 020 320

AUTHOR Butts, R. Freeman
TITLE Civic Education and Human Rights.
SPONS AGENCY Center for Civic Education, Calabasas, CA.; Ministry of Public Instruction, Florence (Italy).
PUB DATE 17 Sep 89
NOTE 33p.; Paper presented at the International Conference on Constitutional Government and the Development of an Enlightened Citizenry (Los Angeles, CA, September 16-22, 1989).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Citizenship Education; *Civics; *Civil Liberties; Educational Objectives; Elementary Secondary Education; *Global Approach; Government Role; *International Education; Social Sciences; Social Studies; World Affairs; World Problems

ABSTRACT

In order to understand the context of the role that human rights should play in civic education in the United States, the era in which those rights were first debated (1789-1790's) must be examined, as well as contemporary political and education trends in the United States and the world. Human rights were at the heart of the democratic revolutions in the late 18th century. For a contemporary understanding of human rights education in the United States, the role that the United States has played in world affairs since the end of World War II must be examined. The organization of the United Nations and the formulation of its charter brought considerable enthusiasm for human rights to the United States. The rise of international studies as a basic component of civic education in the schools was always beset in the United States by Cold War ideology and McCarthyism. The Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and the Carter administration's focus on human rights brought concern for human rights back into the forefront of national discussion. The onset of the Reagan administration downgraded the role of human rights in U.S. foreign policy. In spite of this opposition, the California State Department of Education drew up and adopted a "Model Curriculum for Human Rights and Genocide," based on a similar program developed in Connecticut. It suggests ten human rights issues for discussion by U.S. high school students (e.g., "Privacy, Authority, and Abortion"). Two charts help delineate civic values and human rights in an educational scheme. (PPB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED320786

Civic Education and Human Rights

by

R. Freeman Butts

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

R. FREEMAN BUTTS

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

International Conference
on

"Constitutional Government and the Development
of an Enlightened Citizenry

Cosponsored by

The Italian Ministry of Public Instruction
and the
Center for Civic Education

University of California at Los Angeles September 17, 1989

SO 020 329

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Civic Education and Human Rights

by

R. Freeman Butts

This discussion of the role that human rights ought to play in the civic education of American citizens comes at a peculiarly significant time in the history of the United States and of the world. First, a word about this present period of bicentennial retrospection, as we look back at the decade of events in Europe and America from 1789 through the 1790s. Second, a short look at the fortunes of education for human rights as they have transpired in the United States during the recent period from the mid-1970s to the end of the 1980s. And, finally, a few more or less optimistic words about the prospects for the study of human rights as a basic factor in civic education in the United States.

A few years ago, Yale historian Robert R. Palmer wrote a ground-breaking study which he called The Age of the Democratic

Revolution. [1] He wrote in fascinating detail about the political history of Europe and America in the period from 1760 to 1800. In two respects his study is illuminationg for our purposes: (1) Human rights were at the heart of the democratic revolution in the late 18th century; and (2) the democratic revolution was an international phenomenon, a single revolutionary movement, that broke out in different parts of the heartland of the West, involving many of the countries of Europe, not simply the American and French revolutions. I summarize Palmer's main point as follows:

> . . . the revolutions did not spread from America or from France to the rest of the West. Rather, each country had its own agitations, its own protests, and its own assaults upon the established orders, which from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries had become ever more aristocratic and closed, more elite, more self-perpetuating and hereditary, and more privileged. Even the parliaments, assemblies, councils, and diets were less responsive to the needs of the common people. Each country had its revolutionary upheavals aimed at achieving greater equality, more participation in government by a greater share of the populace, and greater protection for the civil liberties and civil rights of citizens in a free poitical community. Reform movements appeared in England and Ireland, and short-lived republics were

set up in Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, and Poland in the 1780s and 1790s. But by 1800 the established orders had regained their powers, and the republics had reverted to aristocracies or monarchies, except for France which maintained its republican facade until Napoleon declared the empire in 1804. \2/

Palmer ends his study with a symbolic comparison of "Two Men on Horseback:"

On New Year's Day in 1800, the president-elect of the United States walked from his modest boarding-house in Washington, D.C. to the ferry, crossed the Potomac River to Virginia, and hired a horse to ride some ten miles to Mount Vernon to pay his respects to Mrs. George Wahington. Thomas Jefferson "....then returned as he had come, a solitary figure on a slow-moving, placid beast, of a kind that anyone was free to ride, or at least anyone who was white and had three dollars." \3/

By contrast, Palmer gives the following description of a famous painting

> . . . of a horse and rider against a rocky Alpine background, moving steeply uphill, the horse a highstepping, tense, and furious charger, with startled eye and mane flowing in the wind, the rider a uniformed officer seated securely on his restless mount, transfixing the spectator with an imperious gaze, and while lightly holding the reins in one hand,

pointing with the other over the mountains and into the future. It was a glorified picture of the master of the New Order in Europe - "Bonaparte crossing the St. Bernard Pass" - just before his descent for the second time into the Po valley, where in June 1800 he defeated the Austrians at Marengo. This victory restored the Cisalpine Republic, and finally broke up the Second Coalition. Democracy in Europe had not exactly succeeded, but the great conservative and aristocratic counter-offensive had utterly failed. [4]

A somewhat similar contrast occurred to me recently when the world's attention was focussed on the bicentennial of the fall of the Bastille on July 14. This time, Jefferson was observing the "explosion of 1789" at close quarters in Paris, while his compatriot, James Madison, was in New York exhorting his colleagues in the first House of Representatives to take action on the proposals he had submitted on June 8 for a bill of rights to be added to the U.S. Constitution. The momentous question facing the House was whether to debate his proposed amendments in Committee of the Whole or to refer them to a Committee of Detail. Had TV been invented then, guess which event would have made the evening news.

Still, by the late summer of 1789, two landmarks in the history of human rights had been issued: The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen adopted by the French National Assembly on August 26, 1789 (on that day the U.S. Senate was

conducting a desultory debate on the House-adopted amendemnts for the Bill of Rights); but by September 25 the Senate and House had agreed on the amendments that were sent to the states for ratification. But what a difference two years made. By the end of 1791 ten amendments had been ratified and added to the U.S. Constitution as the Bill of Rights, but in France the "reign of terror" was about to begin. That term is familiar enough in the school textbooks of history, but think what new and dreaded significance it has taken on as recently as the suppression of the democratic movement of students in China in May-June and the hostage ordeals of July-August 1989. The history of depredation of human rights during the past two centuries cannot be retold here, but one point to be made is that the history of democratic revolutions and the rise and fall of human rights as international phenomena should be made a basic element in the civic education of all peoples whenever and wherever possible.

We must now jump quickly to the present time with only a suggestion that the period from 1945 to 1989 might well be thought of, especially for comparative purposes, as "The Age of the Second Democratic Revolution." This is a another half century that saw a series of revolts against and freedom from the totalitarian states that had waged World War II, as well as revolts against and independence for a hundred nations freed from the rule imposed upon most of the world by the Western empires of the 18th and 19th centuries And just recently, there are even signs of unrest, if not open revolt or independence, toward

freedom from the tyranny of Communist rule in Poland, Hungary, and in the Baltic republics and other regions within the Soviet Union itself.

The qnawing and gripping question for the world is: Will freedom, democracy, and human rights be winning or losing ground in the 1990s? Or will the events of the 1990s again see the victory of repressive regimes by the opening of the 21st century, as was the case in much of the Western world two hundred years ago at the opening of the 19th century? And can the study of human rights as a core of civic education in the countries of the world make a difference?

As I turn now to human rights education in the United States in recent years, it too needs to be put very briefly into the context of the role that the U.S. has played in world affairs since the end of World War II. I can do no more than remind you of a few generalizations that may well prompt discussion and perhaps disagreement.

In the blush of the organization of the United Nations and formulation of its charter, there was considerable enthusiasm in the U.S. for the ground-breaking approach to internationalism that led to the Universal Declaration of Human Rghts chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt and for the early work of UNESCO. But the rise of "international studies" as a basic component of civic education in the schools was always beset in the U.S. by the onset and spread of the Cold War ideology. The McCarthyism of the 1950s fanned the threat of Communism at home as well as abroad and

raised the suspicion that educators who were enthusiastic for "one-worldism" or internationalism were something less than thoroughly patriotic Americans.

Nevertheless, the 1960s saw an upsurge in efforts to broaden Americans' understanding of world affairs by strengthening international studies in school and university, by foreign exchange programs and technical assistance in education as well as economic aid to newly independent third world countries, highlighted by sending thousands of American teachers abroad through the Peace Corps and AID programs. Also, a massive effort was made to obtain federal support to internationalize the American curriculum in school and college by passage of the International Education Act of 1966. This effort was led by President Lyndon Jounson personally, but his leadership in this and other domestic programs was crippled by growing opposition to the Vietnam War and by unrest on the campuses and in the cities. The act was passed but never funded by the Congress. And the Nixon adminstration from 1968 onward was far from interested in international studies, let alone human rights education.

In retrospect on the 1960s, my view is that the theme of international human rights was never foremost and seldom recognizable in the curriculum reforms of American civic education. [5] Indeed, the "new social studies" with its stress on the social science disciplines and their intellectual methods of analysis and thinking had little interest in either civic education

or international studies.

There were, however, major stirrings of interest in human rights on the international scene itself and in the UN. The rise to independence of scores of new nations attendant upon the breakup of the European empires brought a rapid expansion of the membership of the UN by states which had had no part in the formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and which enthusiastically supported the 1966 Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and especially the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. They were also eager to support the subsequent UN instruments dealing with genocide, discrimination on the basis of race, sex, nationality or education, the abolition of slavery, the rights of the child, and humane treatment of refugees. Meanwhile, the Council of Europe, the European Court and Commission of Human Rights, the Organization of American States, and the UN Commission on Human Rights became more and more active in studying and hearing human rights complaints as well as formulating documents on the subject, including the 1971 UNESCO Recommendation with the formidable title, which urged all member nations to promote education for human rights. \6/

By the mid-1970s, then, not only did American foreign policy under President Jimmy Carter begin to elevate human rights, but so did U.S. educators begin to give special attention to education for international human rights. The Helsinki Final Act of 1975 brought Eastern as well as Western European nations together, along with the U.S. and Canada, into a continuing forum

for discussion of human rights as an international concern and a proper concern of American foreign policy and thus ultimately a legitimate subject for study in schools.

Meanwhile, some American educators had begun to anticipate this change and to stress the study of human rights not only as the central core of international studies but as a fundamental and continuting element in civic education in general. Not by accident, several of the leaders in this movemnt are attending this conference. Judith Torney-Purta and her colleagues in the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) issued their volume on Civic Education in Ten Countries in 1975 \7/; and her 1976 volume with Thomas Buergenthal provided a landmark collection of materials and analyses of the human rights movement in international studies. \8/ And in 1976 the Council of Chief State School Officers sponsored a Conference on "Global Literacy" that signalled a renewed effort to revive international studies in American schools. Judith, Richard Remy, and I were involved with others in drawing up the report for the Chiefs. \9/

By 1975, the Congress and the Ford administration had begun to affirm that no U.S. aid would go to nations that violated "universally recognized human rights." Whether the efforts of us educators were responsible in any way for this development, I cannot say, but the fact is that the Carter administration from 1977 to 1980 made human rights a cornerstone of American foreign policy. Carter signed both covenants on political and civil

rights and on economic, social, and cultural rights and sent them to the Senate for ratification in 1978. They have yet to be acted on by the Senate. In fact, the U.S. has long been reluctant to sign still other international agreements and conventions. During the 1950s the Eisenhower administration held back; in the 1960s the Congress held back, driven by fears that human rights treaties would enable a hostile UN to invade or preempt domestic policies and states rights at a time when the civil rights legislation of the 1960s still rankled in the South and the Southern states were still battling the segregation decisions of the Supreme Court. For its part, the Soviet Union would not sign human rights treaties unless they included the economic, social. and cultural admonitions, knowing that the U.S. would not sign them on the grounds that they would promote socialism in the U.S.

With the onset of the Reagan administration in 1981 two things happened. American foreign policy downgraded human rights in dealing with other nations; whereas a few educational leaders began to redouble their efforts to gain for human rights a prominent place in the school curriculum. The divergence was clear for all to see. Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced that fighting terrorists would replace human rights as a foreign policy priority. The ambassador to the UN, Jeane Kirkpatrick, delighted in bashing the UN and in distinguishing between left-wing totalitarian regimes with whom the U.S. could not cooperate and right-wing authoritarian regimes with whom we could cooperate. When an ultra-conservative, Ernest Lefevre, was

nominated to be Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, the Senate found him so lacking in zeal for human rights that he was rejected. The Senate then confirmed Elliott Abrams for the post, whose anti-Communist and anti-Soviet views were so strong that human rights violations by South Africa and by sundry military dictatorships in the Philippines, South Korea, Indonesia, Nicaragua, Haiti, Chile, Peru, Argentina, and Burma seemed to go relatively unnoticed and undisturbed by American foreign policy. Finally, the U.S. withdrew entirely from UNESCO, expressing frustration with its increasing politicization following its incessant attacks upon Israel as a racist nation.

Meanwhile, as professionals in social studies, civic education, and international education began to mobilize for reforming the curriculum in all these subjects to give greater attention to human rights, they met opposition or indifference from several sources. These included conservative interest groups as well as the political and educational branches of the federal government. Here again, a landmark in the professional educators' efforts to highlight human rights was the volume edited by Margaret Branson and Judith Torney-Purta for the National Council for the Social Studies in 1982, International Human Rights, Society, and the Schools. [10]

Margaret Branson and Judith Torney-Purta marshalled support from the international studies movement and from the law-related education movement, whose members saw the importance of linking the issues of civil rights and civil liberties

arising from domestic U.S. problems with the growing recognition of the interdepemdemce of nations in a shrinking world. But this linkage was difficult to make clear to the profession or to the public, both of which were soon diverted and caught up in a broad-scale "excellence" movement for educational reform, sparked by several national reports that elicited remarkable interest and support from governors, legislators, business, and labor as well as the educational profession.

The most widely discussed of these reports was that of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, A Nation at Risk. \11/ Sad to say, the excellence movement had very little to say about civic education in general or international studies in particular and even less about human rights, whether domestic or international. I have discussed and documented this phenomenbon in my recent book, The Civic Mission in Educational Reform. \12/ Judith Torney-Purta can tell you from personal experience how her carefully crafted papers (prepared at the request of the Commission) on the importance of teaching international civic values were virtually ignored by the Commission. \13/

Still sadder was use of the federal "bully pulpit" by key officials in the Departments of State and Education to attack global education for teaching moral relativism and by imputation being soft on Communism. At a general session of the National Council for Social Studies meeting in San Francisco, Elliott Abrams of the Department of State took direct aim at a National Assessment test question and at the Branson/Torney-Purta

volume for implying that freedom simply had different meanings in different countries and for not making clear that the meaning of freedom in the U.S. was morally right and its meaning in the Soviet Union and China was morally wrong. \14/ Secretary of Education Bennett, Undersecretary Gary Bauer, and Assistant Secretary Chester Finn echoed these sentiments on a number of occasions. Even the manifesto on Education for Democracy issued by the American Federation of Teachers and the Educational Excellence Network repeated the test item on the meaning of freedom to underline the moral relativist point. \15/

When the Denver regional office of the U.S. Department of Education issued a polemic against global education as the monopoly of left-wing activists espousing pacifism, capitulationism, and moral relativism, it set off a firestorm of protest from liberal politicians and educators and defense by right-wing conservative groups. The immediate target of the pamphlet was the Center for Teaching International Relations at the University of Denver, but it was more generally aimed at the report of the prestigious Commission on Global Education chaired by Clark Kerr, the former president of the University of California. \16/ The latter report had received a brisk rebuff by Secretary Bennett.

Meanwhile, social studies educators had been busily promoting global education and human rights studies through the volumes of Social Education, the principal journal of the National Council for the Social Studies, which had published several

special issues and reports on new curriculum materials being used in the schools. \17/ In 1987 the NCCS board of directors adopted a report of its Ad Hoc Committee strongly defending global education and attaking its detractors. \18/

During the latter half of the 1980s, world-wide concern for human rights began to give aid and comfort to American educators who had been battling for more attention to human rights education in the U.S. International organizations were beginning to raise the visibility of human rights issues in their discussions and in policy statements in the UN, UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the Central American nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (whose meeting in Moscow in 1991 the U.S. has agreed to attend), and the Group of Seven industrial nations in the summer of 1989. And, above all, the acceleration of movements for greater human rights in the Communist bloc helped legitimize human rights study even in the eyes of conservatives. On the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1988, a lead editorial in The New York Times made the point under the title, "Mr. Reagan's Human Rights Conversion:"

> . . . .When Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, his aides viewed human rights as a bleeding-heart legacy of the Carter years.
>
> Now look. The Reagan administration is winding up remarkably close to the once-scorned Carter view. The State Department issues candid annual reports on

human rights. Every U.S. embassy has a human rights officer who routinely asks questions of host governments. And in countries like South Korea, Chile, and Paraguay, Washington has made useful trouble with "friendly" dictators.

Human rights ought to be, as Jimmy Carter phrased it, the heart and soul of America's foreign policy. Tying aid to human rights conditions saves lives and empties jails. It gives resonance to the truths of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, assets more precious than any missiles or tank. And there is now an American consensus that a plausible human rights policy has to strive for a single standard of judgment. \19/

As the Times noted, from around 1986 U.S. foreign policy began to shift. After the overthrow of Marcus in the Philippines and Duvalier in Haiti, President Reagan in his foreign policy speech of March 14, 1986 specifically announced that the U.S. would oppose dictators of the right as well as of the left. Undoubtedly reflecting the views of Secretary of State George Schultz, he spoke glowingly of "the democratic revolution" since 1945 and assrted flatly: "In this global revolution, there can be no doubt where America stands. The American people believe in human rights and oppose tyranny in whatever form, whether of the left or the right." \20/

While this new stance was taken by some sceptics as a

device to mollify a Democratic Congress in order to get more aid for the Nicaraguan contras, a new direction was clearly stated. Some political obstacles to education for human rights were lowered if not entirely removed. For a time, however, the newly stated policy was blemished just a few months later by the revelations of the Iran-contra scandal.

Be that as it may, the momentum for human rights education began to pick up. The views expressed in the Branson/Torney-Purta book and in the articles and plans surveyed in Social Education began to be translated into the curriculm guidelines and frameworks of some key state departments of education. Among these were special resource guides developed and issued in New York and Connecticut. (21) I have not had the resources to make a valid survey of similar developments across the country, but I have had some peronal acquaintance with the move in California. In 1985 the California state legislature passed a law mandating the public schools to implement a model curriculum to be developed by the State Department of Education dealing with human rights and with special attention to the inhumanity of genocide. Instruction was to be incorporated during 1986-87 in the history-social science courses of grades 7 to 12. At the time, the State Department of Education was in its regular cycle of revising the History-Social Science Framework. So it drew up a Model Curriculum for Human Rights and Genocide, which was adopted by the State Board of Education in October 1987. This document pointed out for teachers the places in the Framework

where human rights could be emphasized at each grade level from kindergarten through high school. Nearly two-thirds of the document consisted of reprints of several chapters from the Connecticut resource guides. \22/

To give you the rationale and flavor of the Model Curriculum I shall quote a few paragraphs from the Introduction:

> There is no more urgent task for educators in the field of history and social science than to teach students about the importance of human rights and to analyze with them the actual instances in which genocide - the ultimate violation of human rights - has been committed. We study the atrocities of the past not only to preserve their significance as historical events but also to help identify ways to prevent the atrocities from ever happening again. \23/
>
> . . . . attention is directed to human rights in every history course, including United States history and world history. The study of human rights and genocide requires intellectual honesty and moral courage, for no nation or society in human history has been totally innocent of human rights abuses. It is necessary to acknowledge unflinchingly the instances in United States history when our own best ideals were betrayed by the systematic mistreatment of group members because of their race, religion, culture, language, gender, or political views. When studying other

societies, we must be equally candid. . . .

Instances of human rights violations, from torture to terrorism, from slavery to genocide, should be studied at appropriate historical points in the curriculum. Examples of genocide are the:

* Annihilation of the Armenians by the government of the Ottoman Empire
* Famine in the Ukraine caused by the Soviet government
* Nazi extermination of European Jews (the Holocaust)
* Mass murders of the Poles
* Mass killings of Cambodians by the Pol Pot regime

Examples of <u>extreme human rights violations</u> include:

* Slavery of black people in the U.S.
* Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 in California
* Forced relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II on the West Coast of the U.S.
*Discrimination against blacks, Asians, Hispanics, American Indians, women, the handicapped, and homosexuals in the U.S.
* Apartheid in South Africa
* Political repression, torture, and terrorism such as that in Argentina
* Totalitarian policies, such as those that

brought suffering to the Chinese people and those that were imposed in Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia against Gypsies, disabled people, homosexuals, Slavs, and other groups in Eastern Europe.

Students must understand the centuries-long struggle for human rights and democratic government. The curriculum requires the study of critical points in the evaluation of democratic ideas and practices, the landmark documents, and the struggles to safeguard human rights, including the:

* Magna Carta, which established limits on the power of the sovereign
* English Bill of Rights of 1689 and common law
* American Declaration of Independence and the Revolution
* United States Constitution (including the Bill of Rights)
* French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen
* President Franklin D. Roosevelt's speech to Congress declaring the Four Freedoms and their incorporation in the Atlantic Charter
* United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. . . .

Within this curriculum the study of human rights

has three objectives: first, study of the record of oppression of individuals and groups; second, study of the governmental means to prohibit abuses of human rights; and third, encouragement of democratic values and attitudes to foster respect for differences among people and for the rights of all people. [23]

In the concluding paragraph of the Introduction, the Model Curriculum draws a clear connection between the sudy of human rights and education for democratic citizenship:

> History demonstrates that the strongest protection for the rights of minorities and individuals is to be found in a democratic system of government where due process and equal rights are guaranteed to all and where citizens have an informed commitment to the improvement and preservation of a just and democratic society. The goal of the history-social science curriculum is to educate today's young people so that they know the history of human rights and of the efforts to protect those rights and so that they understand the democratic process, respect the rights of others, and willingly accept their obligations as citizens. [24]

I find these general statements to be unexceptionable and hope that they will be widely emulated. It is only prudent to caution, however, that the test of their effectiveness will be the extent to which the content of the curriculum and of textbooks is

modified and the objectves carried out in the actual teaching and learning in the classroom.

It will also come as no surprise to experienced curriculum developers that the subject of human rights was actively promoted and lobbied by some of those groups whose ancestors had historically been the victims of extreme human rights violations or genocide. Nor is it surprising that many other groups may feel left out. Note the following news report from Education Week:

> The California Board of Education is expected next month to adopt a controversial model curriculum on human rights and genocide despite complaints by ethnic and special interest groups that they are not being counted among the oppressed.
>
> At a recent public hearing on a draft of the curriculum, more than 60 speakers urged the board to revise the document to include information on the sufferings of, among others, Afghans, Arabs, Chinese, Latvians, Lithuanians, Muslims, Poles, homosexuals, and aborted fetuses.
>
> The board has also came under fire from Turkish-American groups for its decision to begin the curriculum's discussion of genocide with the Ottoman Empire's massacre of Armenians in 1915-18. Gov. George Deukmejian, who appointed all 11 of the board's members, is of Armenian descent, as is Arman Sarafian, the board member from Glendora who chaired

the committee responsible for the model's development. \25/

The cynical observer could deplore the political role of special interest groups in the curriculum development process, but the nature of the subject matter could cause persons of good will to raise serious questions about the objectivity of the points of view underlying what is taught. The president of Robert College in Istanbul sharply criticized the curriculum for its lack of objectivity toward the Turkish people and questioned "the political wisdom and pedagogical merit of designing units in a mandated curriculum around a theme as problematic and explosive as 'genocide'" \26/ In an exchange of views in Education Week, a member of the Advisory Committee for the curriculum who was of Armenian background strongly defended the scholarly objectivity of the curriculum. \27/

As I hope may now be clear, the road to human rights education in the U.S. will not be easy or smoothed over by bland good intentions, but I hope, too, as the Reagan administration discovered, that it is a subject whose time has finally come, 40 years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and 15 years after the Helsinki Final Act. But it will take the persistent combined efforts of the public and the educational profession to make a go of it. Especially important will be the necessity for social studies professionals and their opposite numbers in the humanities and social sciences of the universities to focus their scholarship on the main themes despite their differing interests

in international studies, comparative studies, global studies, peace studies, foreign policy issues, multicultural studies, and citizenship education.

Naturally, I think one of the major contributions to this end will be the Civitas project, about which you are bound to hear at this conference. One of its great assets is the design of a curriculum framework that will deal with the major topics of knowledge and skill befitting an informed and committed American citizen by stressing the development of three interrelated perspectives - a conceptual perspective, a historical perspective, and a contemporary perspective. We hope thia approach will enable a good teacher to rely upon sound scholarly knowledge but still bring home the issues to students, prompting them to see that human rights are matters of concern to <u>them</u>, not simply to persons who have suffered oppression long ago or far away.

For instance, I have argued along these lines in my recent books on civic education in the United States. \28/ I have drawn up a set of civic values in tabular form to serve as a check-list of concepts that may be dealt with as the core of civic education. In the earlier verson I called the list a "Decalogue of Civic Values," but when I increased the number of concepts, I borrowed a new title from The Laws of the Twelve Tables of the early Roman Republic and called it the "The Twelve Tables of Civism for the Modern American Republic." A copy is attached. You will note that "Human Rights" is listed as the culminating concept in the right-hand column of rights of citizenship to which American

TWELVE TABLES OF CIVISM FOR THE MODERN AMERICAN REPUBLIC*

(with apologies to the "Laws of the Twelve Tables" of the Early Roman Republic and to Aristotle's paradigm of the Later Greek Republics)

UNUM — The Obligations of Citizenship

PLURIBUS — The Rights of Citizenship

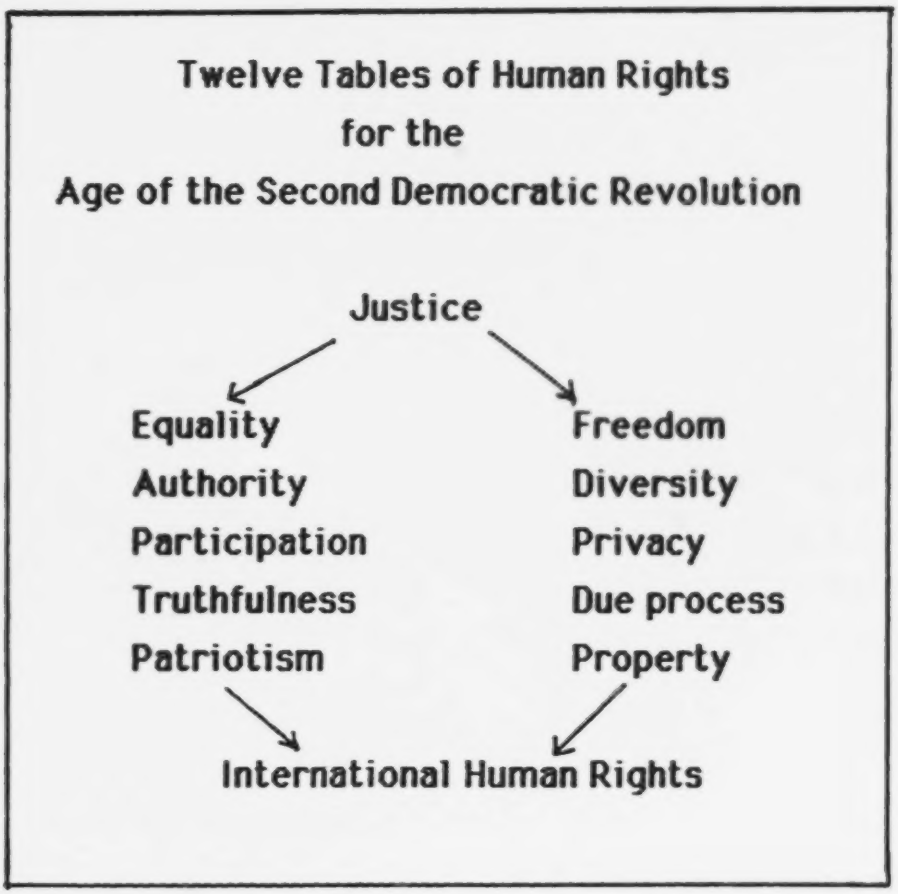
Corrupted Forms of Unum	True Forms of Unum	True Forms of Pluribus	Corrupted Forms of Pluribus
"Law and order"	Justice	Freedom	Anarchy
Enforced same-ness; conformity	Equality	Diversity	"Unstable plúralism"
Authoritarianism; totalitarianism	Authority	Privacy	Privatism; privatization
"Majoritarianism"	Participation	Due process	"Soft on criminals"
"Beguiling half-truth; plausible falsehood"	Truth	Property	"Property rights superior to human rights"
Chauvinism; xenophobia	Patriotism	Human Rights	"Cultural imperialism"

Democratic Civism

*Adapted from R. FREEMAN BUTTS, The Morality of Democratic Citizenship: Goals for Civic Education in the Republic's Third Century, p. 136. Center for Civic Education, Calabasas, California, 1988.

citizens should be committed.

Now, however, for the sake of our discussion here, I can, through the marvels of the computer and the click of a Macintosh mouse, turn these rights and obligations from a domestic U.S. topic into a framework appropriate to our international discussions at this conference. Presto! The table becomes a model in which the topic of human rights itself may become the culminating theme for any country that determines to make the study of human rights a fundamental part of its civic education program. See the following:



I would not hazard to suggest how any other country might approach this task, so I simply give a few hints that apply to the U.S. I should think that the attention of American high school students could quickly be gained by considering such close-to-home issues as the following, all of which have a long background of dispute in legislatures or courts and which have been or soon will be the subject of U.S. Supreme Court decisions:

(1) Justice and the death penalty. Is it just for the government to put to death a youth under 18 years of age after conviction under due process for commiting a major crime? Does justice require or permit the death penalty for any person anywhere? What about terrorists who kill hostages and innocent people without regard to due process?

(2) Privacy, Authority, and Abortion. Should a pregnant girl under 18 years of age be required by law to gain her parents' consent to have an abortion? How are the privacy of the girl and the authority of her parents and of the state involved?

(3) Privacy, Due Process, and Drugs. Is it an invasion of privacy for school officials to search students' persons, lockers, or belongings on suspicion of possession of drugs? To what extent is the use of drugs a private matter, of state authority, and of international affairs involving human or property rights?

(4) Privacy and Academic Excellence. Should a high school student who has achieved an outstanding scholastic record be denied admission to a National Honor Society solely because she is pregnant?

(5) Freedom, Authority, and Child Abuse. Should parents be free to refuse, on religious grounds, to permit medical treatment for their critically-ill children, or does the interest of the state in protecting the welfare and rights of the children override the parents' authority and entitle it to punish the parents?

(6) Equality, Diversity, and Affirmative Action. Should the race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or disablity of high school graduates be given consideration in the process pf college admission? or of employment? or promotion? or dismissal?

(7) Diversity, Equality, and Segregation or Discrimination. Should a private religious school or college be free to segregate or discriminate on the basis of race or sex and still receive public funds? What is it like in countries where there is no religious freedom and where racial segregation exists by law?

(8) Freedom, Authority, and the Student Press. Should school authorities have the power of prior censorship over what high school students write and publish in their school newspapers? Even if it is the truth? Why may a different principle apply in universities? In the public press? In totalitarian countries?

(9) Patriotism and Freedom. Should students be required to participate in a daily pledge of allegiance to the American flag on pain of punishment? Should they or anyone else be permitted to "desecrate" the flag as a means of political expression? Should students be required to participate in prayer or other religious observance in school no matter what their own religious beliefs may be? What happens in other countries where there is no

constitutional principle of religious freedom?

(10) Participation and National Service. Should every young person from ages 18 to 24 be required to engage in some kind of national service for a specified period of time? Should federal funds for college scholarships or loans be granted only to those high school graduates who engage in some sort of voluntary civilian or military service for a year or two? What happens in other countries where national service is required? Are the young people better for it? Is the national welfare better served?

Every one of the above topics has a long background of dispute and scholarly or legal commentary. Most have gone to the Supreme Court or been debated in legislatures and Congress. They thus are based on fundamental conceptual, historical, and contemporary arguments that could profitably be studied, once the students have come alive, see the possible relevance to themselves, and are stimulated by well-trained teachers relying on readily available scholarly-based materials. The topics I have mentioned will of course not necessarily be appropriate in other countries. But the underlying concepts of human rights might find widespread appeal in those countries that are reaching for democracy at home or abroad. Chinese students for democracy are not only in China; they are here. Vietnamese and Mexican children are not only in Vietnam and Mexico; they are here. They are us. If universal human rights could be better served by education, there might be fewer unbridgeable islands of violence, oppression, or terror in this world.

NOTES

1. R. R. Palmer, The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800: The Challenge (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959); and Ibid. The Struggle (1964).

2. R. Feeman Butts, The Education of the West: A Formative Chapter in the History of Civilization (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 313.

3. Palmer, The Struggle, p. 570.

4. Ibid. p. 570.

5. R. Freeman Butts, The Civic Mission in Educational Reform: Perspectives for the Public and the Profession (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1989).

6. Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Paris: UNESCO, 1974).

7. Judith V. Torney, A. N. Oppenheim, and Russell F. Farnen, Civic Education in Ten Countries (New York: Wiley, 1975).

8. Thomas Buergenthal and Judith V. Torney, International Human Rights and International Education (Washington, D.C.: US National Commission for UNESCO, 1976).

9. For excerpts from the working paper presented to the Council of Chief State School Officers from the Wingspread Workshop at Racine, Wisonsin in May 1976, see R. Freeman Butts, The Revivial

of Civic Learning: A Rationale for Citizenship Education in American Schools (Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1980), pp. 155-158. For a report of the International Meeting of Experts on the Role of Social Studies in Education for Peace and Respect for Human Rights in May 1976 at Michigan State University, see Howard D. Mehlinger, ed., UNESCO Handbook for the Teaching of Social Studies (Paris: UNESCO, 1981), Appendix B.

10. Margaret Stimmann Branson and Judith Torney-Purta, eds., International Human Rights, Society, and the Schools (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1982). See also Norman Graves, O. J. Dunlop, and Judith Torney-Purta, eds., Teaching for International Understanding, Peace and Human Rights (Paris: UNESCO, 1984).

11. National Commission on Excellence in Education, A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, April 1983).

12. Butts, The Civic Mission, especially Chapters 1, 4, and 5.

13. Judith Torney-Purta and John Schwille, "The Values Learned in School," a paper prepared for the National Commission on Excellence, August 1982; and "Raising the Alarm: The Only Role for Comparative Education in the Debate on Excellence?" - a paper presented as the Claude Eggertsen Lecture at the meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, Houston, Texas on March 23, 1984.

14. See Butts, The Civic Mission, pp. 204-205.

15. Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles;

(Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers, 1987), pp. 10-12.

16. Study Commission on Global Education, The United States Prepares for Its Future: Global Perspectives in Education (New York: Global Perspectives in Education, 1987).

17. See, e.g., Social Education, September 1986 and October 1986.

18. NCSS Ad Hoc Committee on Global Education, "Global Education: In Bounds or Out?" Social Education. April/May 1987.

19. The New York Times, lead editorial, December 10, 1988.

20. The New York Times, March 15, 1986.

21. Connecticut State Department of Education, Resource Guide, Human Rights: The Struggle for Freedom, Dignity and Equality (Hartford, Conn.: 1987); New York State Education Department, The Human Rights Series (Albany, N.Y.: 1985 and 1986).

22. California State Department of Education, Model Curriculum for Human Rights and Genocide (Sacramento, CA: 1987), pp. 25-65.

23. Ibid., pp. 1-3.

24. Ibid., p.5.

25. Education Week, September 16, 1987.

26. Harry A. Dawe, "'Genocide' Curriculum Is Unwise," Education Week, October 21, 1987.

27. Levon Marashlian, "Defending a 'Genocide' Curriculum," Education Week, December 2, 1987.

28. R. Freeman Butts, The Civic Mission; and The Morality of Democratic Citizenship; (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1988).